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CONTENTS

AN EARLY CHRISTIAN BASILICA AT 'EIN HANNIYA, BY D. C. BARAMKI	PAGE 113
A SIXTH-CENTURY SYNAGOGUE AT 'ISFIYA. I. EX- CAVATION REPORT, BY N. MAKHOULY. II. THE PAVEMENT, THE INSCRIPTIONS, CONCLUSION, BY M. AVI-YONAH	118
NABATEAN POTTERY FROM THE NEGEB, BY J. H. ILIFFE.	132
MEDIEVAL SLIP-WARE FROM PILGRIMS' CASTLE, 'ATLIT (1930-1), BY C. N. JOHNS	136

AN EARLY CHRISTIAN BASILICA AT 'EIN HANNIYA

ON 20 December 1929 a peasant reported the discovery of a mosaic pavement at 'Ein Hanniya, a spring twelve kilometres south-west of Jerusalem. Steps were taken at the time to protect the mosaics, and in June 1932 the site was excavated, thanks to the facilities granted to the Department of Antiquities by the most Reverend Archbishop Keladion, Locum Tenens of the Orthodox Patriarch, and Mr. Lazarus Paul, owners of the area containing the mosaics.

The site contains the foundations of an Early Christian basilica with an atrium and a narthex. The rock sloped downwards from north-east to south-west so that the apse, and the east and south walls of the church as far as the narthex, were rock-cut, up to a height of 1 metre or so, from the floor. The rest of the walls were constructed of dressed stones of varying dimensions, but on the average $60 \times 35 \times 40$ cm. A channel was cut in the rock outside the church coming from the direction of the spring, skirting the church on the south and east, and discharging outside its north-west corner. The foundations of the church were fairly well preserved on the south and east, but not so well on the north and west. It was not possible to excavate the north-west corner, as it was under the road.

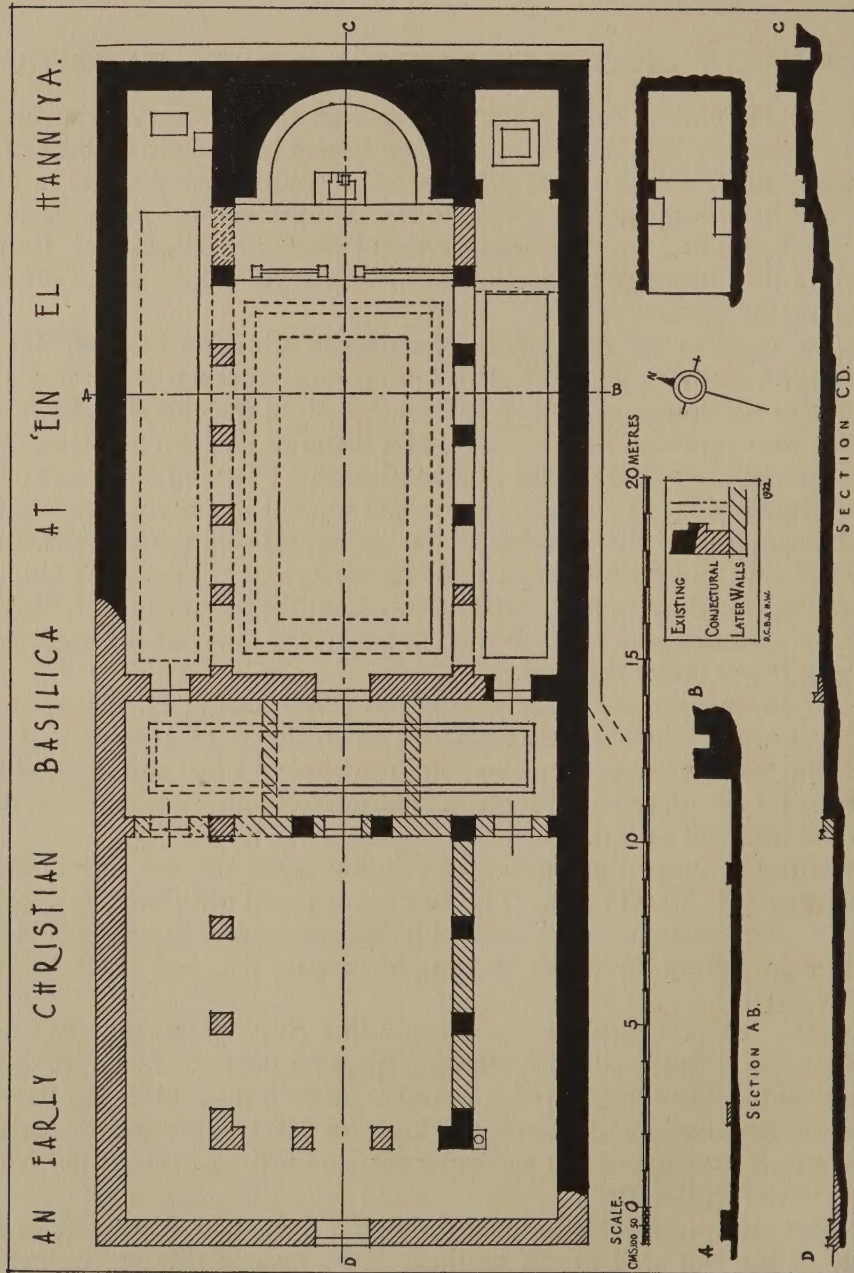
The atrium contains the bases of columns (Pl. XXXIV, 1). There is no evidence to show whether these supported an architrave or an arcade. It was paved with white tesserae 2 cm. sq., and contained a small cup-mark at the west end of the south colonnade (plan). The intercolumnar spaces were walled up at a subsequent period.

A raised step supporting a row of columns separated the atrium from the narthex (Pl. XXXIV, 2). The latter was paved with mosaics consisting of a white surround decorated with Maltese crosses in red and black, and a scale pattern bordered by rows of orange, red, and black tesserae (Pl. XXXV, 1).

At a later date the narthex was divided into three parts, and the intercolumnar spaces were walled up, allowing space for doors, and converting the narthex into a closed porch with a chamber on each side. Over the floor of the south chamber an uninterrupted layer of black ashes was discovered pointing to destruction of that particular room by fire. Ashes were not found anywhere else on the site.

The nave was presumably entered through a door, now destroyed, in the middle of the east wall of the narthex. Two rows of columns resting on

D. C. BARAMKI



EARLY CHRISTIAN BASILICA, 'EIN HANNIYA

stylobates divided the nave from the aisles (Pl. XXXV, 2). It was paved with mosaics consisting of:

(1) A surround decorated with a single row of black tesserae interrupted at equal intervals by indented squares.

(2) A guilloche border in black, red, orange, and white, enclosed between two running spirals in dark red.

(3) A field containing a trellis of vines proceeding, presumably, from an amphora at the west end, now destroyed.¹ The vine-branches carry leaves, grapes, and tendrils, and form, together with the supposed vase, twelve rows of five medallions each. Only fourteen medallions survive, the rest being entirely destroyed. The branches, stalks, and tendrils are in different shades of red, the leaves one side green and the other black, and the grapes red, orange, and white, or blue and white, or yellow and white, or only white, outlined in black, or yellow and white outlined in red. The medallions are filled with larger tesserae ornamented with sprigs (Pl. XXXVI) with the exceptions following.

The second medallion from the left in the third row from top contains a basket in black, red, orange, and white, containing grapes and leaves, the fourth contains the remains of another, mutilated, while the last contains the rump of a bird.

The second medallion from the left in the fourth row contains the feet and breast of a bird.

The first medallion from the left in the sixth row contains part of the beak, head, and back of a bird (Pl. XXXVI, inset).

It is therefore obvious that the majority of the medallions originally contained animals and birds,² but they were destroyed subsequently during the iconoclastic movement which spread over the whole of the Near East in the beginning of the eighth century.³

A raised step and cancelli separated the nave from the choir. The position of the chancel columns and slabs were indicated by the cutting in the rock (plan). No other trace was found of the former, but two fragments of the latter were found, one used as a paving-stone in the narthex in place of the destroyed mosaics, and the other lying just outside the atrium (Pl. XXXVII, 1). Two steps, now destroyed, separated the apse from the choir. The outlines of the altar and the positions of the seats of the elders were marked on the

¹ Owsepian in *ZDPV*, 1895, pp. 88 ff., *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities*, Vol. III, Pl. X.

² Owsepian, *l. c.*

³ H. Leclercq, 'Images (Cultes et Querelles des),' col. 230 ff. in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Vol. 7, 1, and *Quarterly*, Vol. III, p. 19.

rock (plan). Under the altar was a smaller rectangular cavity cut in the rock. A marble casket (Pl. XL, 2) containing bones, presumably relics, was found in a corner of the cavity encased by marble slabs (Pl. XXXVII, 2), and in the middle a rectangular marble block, hollowed out to form two receptacles (Pl. XL, 2). In its latest phase the apse was paved with paving-stones.

The narthex communicated by a side door with the south aisle (Pl. XXXVIII, 1). This was paved with mosaics consisting of a surround decorated with indented squares, enclosing a scale pattern bordered by three rows of black tesserae (Pl. XXXVIII, 2). At its east end was a diakonikon approached by two steps now destroyed. It was paved with white tesserae. The outline of an altar is marked on the tesserae. It had a niche at the south-west corner.

The present diakonikon includes the first bay of the south aisle, but a lower mosaic pavement, found beneath its floor in that bay on the same level as the floor of the aisle, indicates that originally it was limited by the respond. The bay was found to be paved with mosaics sprinkled with sprigs and had raised steps on both sides (plan, inset). The floor of the former diakonikon was destroyed to rock-level.

A third door presumably connected the narthex with the north aisle. This was paved with mosaics consisting of a surround decorated with sprigs enclosing a chequer design bordered by two rows of black tesserae (Pl. XXXIX, 1). To the east of the aisle is a prothesis separated from it by a step, now destroyed. Near the east end the position of an altar is visible on the floor, in the centre of which is a stone cup. The floor was paved with mosaics, the area surrounding the altar being decorated with Maltese crosses, while the rest is ornamented with sprigs (Pl. XXXIX, 2). South of the altar is a small area, 20 cm. above the level of the prothesis, paved with white tesserae, of the same size as those of the diakonikon in its latest phase. It appears that the prothesis also was subsequently raised and repaved with white tesserae and that it extended over the east bay of the aisle, the mosaic of which show traces of having been covered with mortar. The present level of the diakonikon and the small area of the prothesis paved with white tesserae are on the same level.

North of the prothesis, outside the church, is a small rectangular area paved with white tesserae.

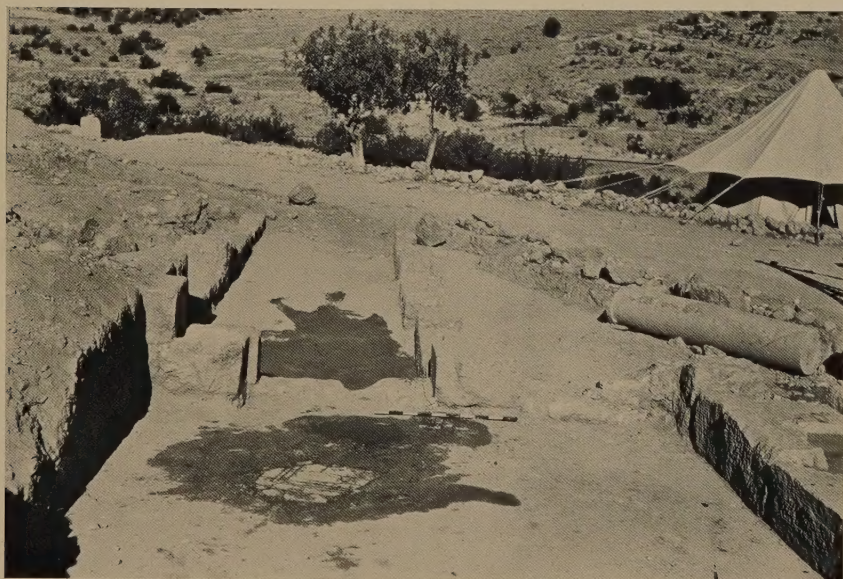
The objects found on the site included three Arabic coins of the Umayyad period, two Arabic lamps, eleven mouths of vessels in the form of heads of animals¹ and the torso of a zoomorphic vase (Pl. XL, 1).

The original church can be tentatively dated to the fifth or sixth century,

¹ These animal figurines occur quite frequently in Early Christian churches. Cf. *Quarterly*, Vol. III, p. 19.



1. BASES OF COLUMNS IN ATRIUM



2. STEP SEPARATING ATRIUM FROM NARTHEX

‘EIN HANNIYA

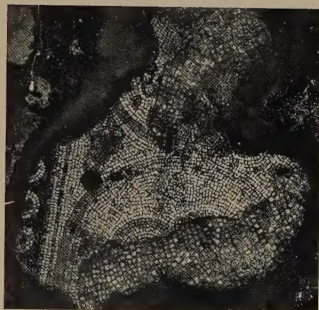


1. MOSAIC PAVEMENT AND INTRUSIVE WALL IN NARTHEX

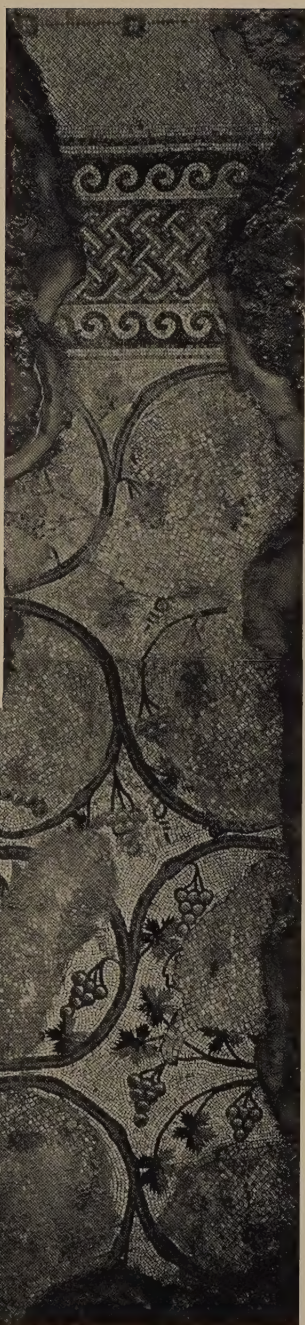


2. COLUMNS AND STYLOBATE IN SOUTH OF NAVE

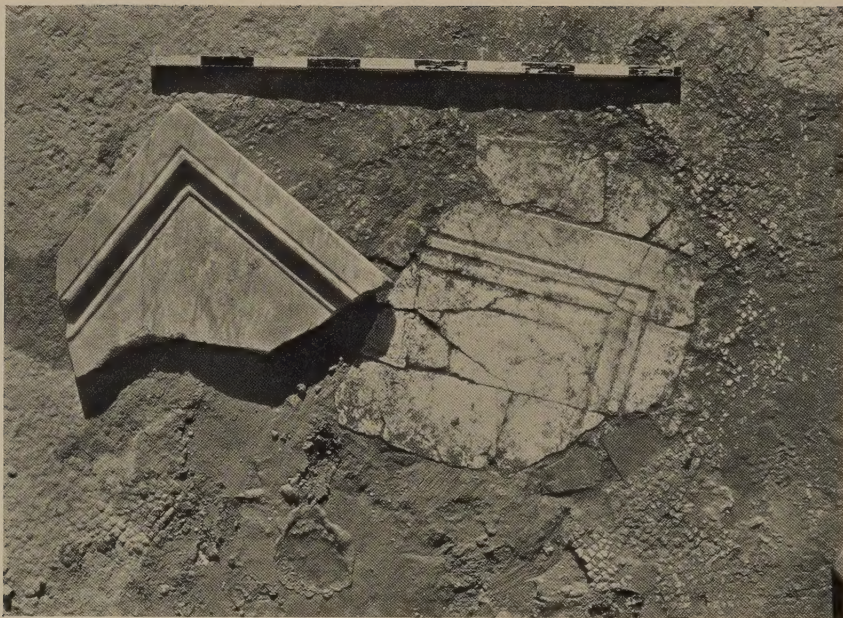
‘EIN HANNIYA



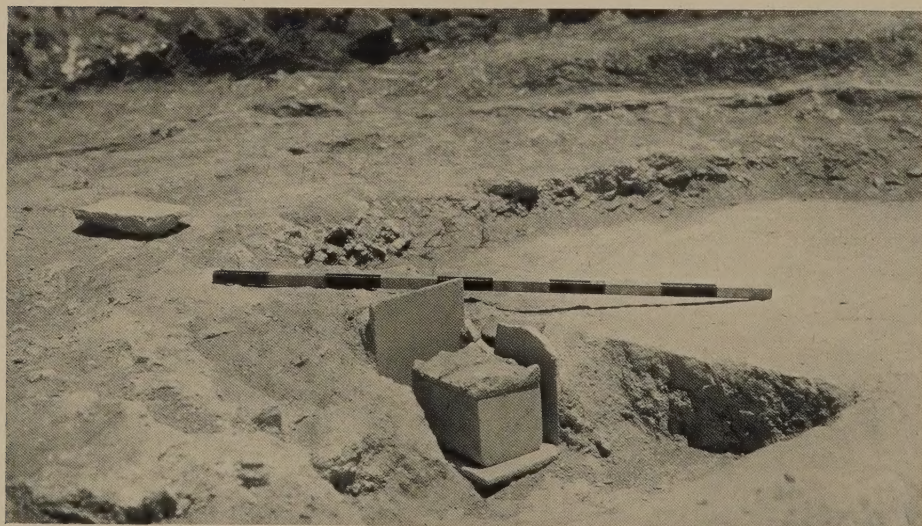
'EIN HANNIYA



MOSAICS IN NAVE



1. FLOOR OF NARTHEX SHOWING CANCELLI



2. MARBLE RELIQUARY IN SITU

'EIN HANNIYA



1. DOORSTEP BETWEEN NARTHEX AND SOUTH AISLE



2. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN SOUTH AISLE

'EIN HANNIYA



1. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN NORTH AISLE

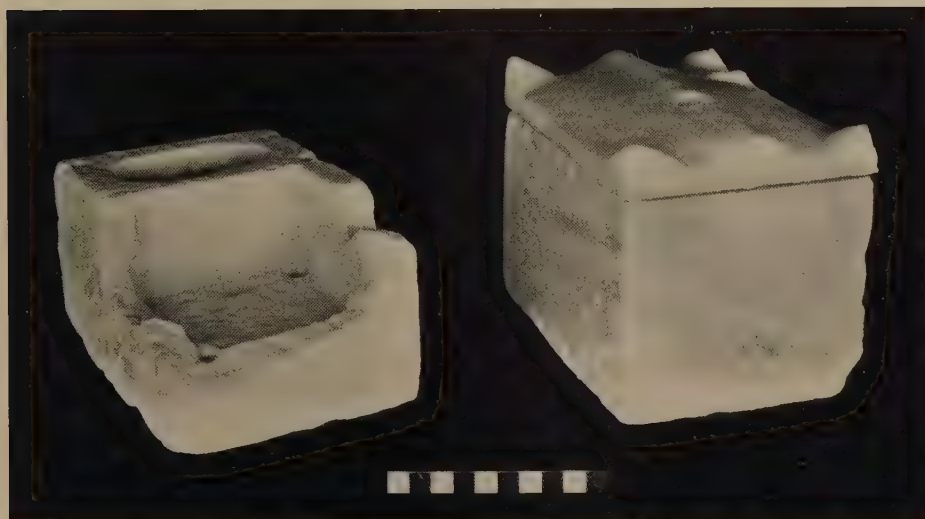


2. FLOOR OF PROTHESIS

'EIN HANNIYA



1. OBJECTS FOUND ON SITE



2. MARBLE RELIQUARY AND HOLLOWED MARBLE BLOCK FOUND UNDER ALTAR

'EIN HANNIYA

EARLY CHRISTIAN BASILICA, 'EIN HANNIYA

as in general the vine pattern belonged to that period. However, it underwent many subsequent changes which included the lengthening and raising of the level of the diakonikon and the prothesis, the conversion of the narthex into a closed porch with two chambers, and the walling-up of the inter-columnar spaces in the atrium. These changes may have accompanied the mutilation of the mosaic in the beginning of the eighth century.

D. C. BARAMKI.

A SIXTH-CENTURY SYNAGOGUE AT 'ISFIYĀ

I. *Excavation Report*

ON 12 August 1930 the present writer noticed, in the course of an inspection, traces of mosaic at 'Isfiyā village (Haifa Sub-District; Palestine Exploration Fund map, sheet V, square K. i). In January of last year, when the Records Office of the Department of Antiquities proceeded to collect the material for a catalogue of mosaic pavements published since in this *Quarterly* (Vol. II, pp. 136-81; Vol. III, pp. 25-73), a part of the site was cleared and a mosaic pavement appeared decorated with a seven-branched candlestick. A clearing of the site was carried out, as far as was possible, in March 1933, by Mr. M. Avi-Yonah, of the Department of Antiquities, and the present writer, assisted by Mr. N. Reiss, Archaeological Draughtsman of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, whose services were kindly lent by that institution.

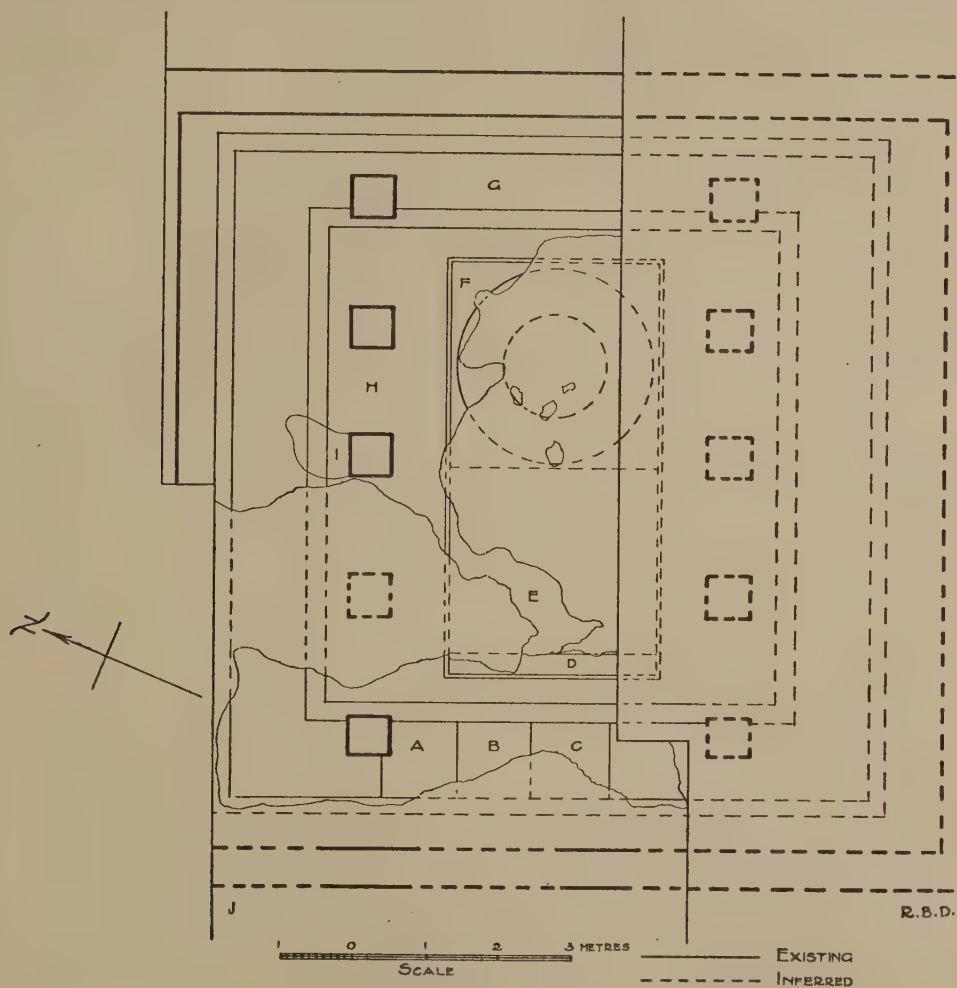
The site (Pl. XLI, 1) is situated at the north edge of the village, about 80 m. west of the Greek Catholic Church, in a quarter known as 'Ĥārat el M'asara' (The press quarter). The actual place is a public courtyard, giving access to several houses and their stables. It was constantly passed through by the inhabitants and their livestock. Situated, as the remains were, in an inhabited village between modern houses, the conditions were distinctly unfavourable to their preservation.

At the time our work began the courtyard was further encumbered by a kitchen on its north side and two hen-houses on the south. These, however, we succeeded in removing, after compensating the owners.

The clearing revealed the remains of a building, of which two-fifths are buried under the houses on the south side of the courtyard (*see plan*). We could establish the entire length of the *north* wall (10 m. 10), standing in places 40 cm. high. Its eastern portion served as the foundation of a house. Its western portion disappeared under another house. Of the *east* wall 6 m. 20 could be cleared till the point was reached where it disappeared under the houses in the south-east corner of the courtyard. The lower part of this wall was cut in the rock and could be identified; it was 37 cm. high. We succeeded also in clearing both sides of the wall and establishing its thickness as 60 cm. on the average. The north and east walls had traces of plaster painted with a reddish colour. Of the *west* wall the foundations only could be recovered in two places. They measured 52 cm. in width. The courtyard is sloping on this side; hence the wall here was not partly rock-cut and partly built, but wholly built, and has disappeared almost entirely. The *south* wall has disappeared completely under the houses on that side.

A SIXTH-CENTURY SYNAGOGUE AT 'ISFIYĀ

Traces of a row of five columns were found extending from east to west. The places of the columns were marked by gaps in the pavement, each of 60 cm. sq. The intercolumnar spaces were irregular; from east to west we



measured: 80 cm., 1 m. 20, 1 m. 15, 1 m. 35, 1 m. 15, 1 m. 22. The columns separated an aisle (2 m. 60 broad) from the central nave.

The building had an inclination of 22° to the west from true magnetic north.

The site being between inhabited houses, no trace remains, of course, of

the building stones. The only objects recovered were three fragments of straight rafters with turned-up edge and fragments of ribbed Byzantine and painted Arab pottery.

A threshold was reported as found some time ago in the line of the west wall. Portions of the bedding of mosaic extended 1 m. 60 to the west (J on plan), and prove the existence of a paved narthex.

N. MAKHOULY.

II. *The Mosaic Pavement. The Inscriptions. Conclusion.*

The Mosaic Pavement. To judge from the extant fragments and the traces of bedding in the presumed narthex and near the broken edges of the pavement, the whole building was once paved with mosaic. Unfortunately, owing to the conditions of the site (as explained above), the damaged part of the pavement is just the part decorated with figured drawings, while the common geometric designs in the border and aisle practically escaped injury.

This is the ninth mosaic pavement of a synagogue found in Palestine or Trans-Jordan. The others are: Kh. Umm el 'Amed,¹ Kafr Kanna,² Saffūriya,³ 'Ein Dūk,⁴ el Hammām,⁵ Beit Alfa,⁶ Jerash,⁷ and el Hamme.⁸ Abroad, mosaic pavements in synagogues were found at Hammām Līf (Naron),⁹ Elche,¹⁰ and Aegina.¹¹ For purposes of comparison only the following sites are of importance: 'Ein Dūk, Beit Alfa, Jerash, el Hamme, Hammām Līf. Of the other synagogues some show only conventional patterns, some have a white pavement, and in some the inscription alone has been preserved.

On the east and west side of the main hall and in the north aisle of the 'Isfiya synagogue ran a continuous geometric border. It is interrupted opposite the presumed entrance by three square panels (1 m. sq.) framed by simple lines.

The first panel on the left shows a seven-branched candlestick (Pl. XLII, 1; A on plan) resting on a solid base. The trunk is formed by alternating square and round links, the branches by alternating round and triangular links. Both end in lamps of the type commonly found in the pottery of that

¹ 'Mosaic Pavements in Palestine' (henceforward abbreviated *MPP*) (*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities*, Vol. II, pp. 136-81; Vol. III, pp. 25-73), No. 248.

² *MPP*, No. 167.

³ *MPP*, No. 296.

⁴ *MPP*, No. 69.

⁵ *MPP*, No. 85.

⁶ *MPP*, No. 22.

⁷ J. W. Crowfoot and R. W. Hamilton in *QSt.*, 1929, pp. 215-19, Pls. III-V. E. L. Sukenik, *The ancient synagogue of Beth Alpha*, Jerusalem, 1932, English edition (henceforward abbreviated *BA*), pp. 55 f., Pls. 7, XXVI.

⁸ *MPP*, No. 86.

⁹ *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1909-16, Vol. II, Nos. 501-5.

¹⁰ Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire*, Vol. 5, 1, s.v. Espagne, col. 515 f.

¹¹ *CIG*, III, 9894.

A SIXTH-CENTURY SYNAGOGUE AT 'ISFIYĀ

period, seen from the side. A handle of each lamp is seen on the outer side and a burning wick on the inner. The central lamp resting on the trunk shows two wicks and no handle. The candlestick is made with red, orange, and yellow tesserae. In the centre of each link is set a single green glass tessera. The candlestick is accompanied by four objects, two on each side. On the right we see an *ethrog* (*Citrus medica*) and the tip of the *lulab* (palm leaves bound together). On the left are a ritual blowing-horn (*shofar*) and an object in the form of a square box or panel, decorated with counter-changing greyish and red tesserae and having a handle with two side props. These objects agree in their colour scheme with the candlestick and have also green tesserae in their centre, except the square object. Of the *lulab* the end only is visible and we cannot be certain of its form.

The candlestick appears on all figured synagogue pavements in Palestine and Trans-Jordan, with the sole exception of el-Hamme. It appears twice at Hammām-Lif. Owing to the peculiar sanctity of the original Temple candlestick (Ex. xxv. 31-8) and of its symbolic value (Zech. iv. 2)¹ we find it represented on innumerable Jewish objects, tombstones, gilt glasses, lamps, &c.² The candlestick of the Second Temple is known to us from the relief on the arch of Titus and differs from the mosaic representations. These sixth-century representations are, therefore, valuable rather as representing the contemporary ideas of such a candlestick. It should be noted that the term itself is a misnomer; the original object was a lamp-holder and had never any connexion with candles.

The form of the branches of the candlestick, which is thought to represent 'the knops and the flowers' of the Temple candlestick,³ corresponds most closely to that of the Beit Alfa mosaic. The colouring is probably intended to reproduce the hue of the 'pure gold' of Ex. xxv. 31-8. The dots, marked here by green tesserae, occur also on representations of the candlestick on gilt vessels.⁴ They represent perhaps an incrustation with precious stones, as to which our sources are silent. The closest parallel to the lamps at the

¹ Möhlenbrink in *ZDPV*, 1929, pp. 257 ff.; Marmorstein in *ZNT*, 1933, pp. 35 ff.; cf. *Pesiqta R.*, c. 8, 29^b. Cf. also Monceaux in *Revue des études juives* (*REJ*), XLIV, 1902, p. 17 f.

² For the candlestick in general see: Kohl-Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, Leipzig, 1916, p. 191 and n. 4 (with sources); Kaufmann in *REJ*, XIII, 1886, pp. 52-5. For some of the numerous candlesticks found on objects in Palestine see *inter alia*: Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, London, 1876, Vol. II, pp. 393-5; *id.*, *Rec. arch. or.* VI, p. 169; I. Loeb in *REJ*, XIX, 1889, pp. 101-3; Schumacher in *ZDPV*, 1885, p. 333 f.; Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, Berlin, 1922, p. 438; Klein, *Jüd.-pal. Corpus inscriptionum*, Wien, 1920, Tombs Nos. 112, 142, 179, 183, Synagogues Nos. 13, 14, 15; Kohl-Watzinger, *op. cit.*, fig. 291; Orfali, *Capharnaüm*, Paris, 1922, Figs. 122-4. On the Carmel (Kh. Semmāqa), cf. L. Oliphant in *QSt.*, 1884, p. 41; *ib.* 1886, p. 8.

³ *BA*, p. 26.

⁴ *BA*, Fig. 34, p. 31.

end of each branch in our example is shown on a tombstone at the Monteverde catacomb, where lamps of exactly the same form are shown in the same position at the end of each branch.¹

The candlestick is as a rule accompanied by a selection of ritual objects agreeing in general with the selection shown here and representing the New Year and Day of Atonement (the *shofar*) and the Feast of Tabernacles (*ethrog* and *lulab*). Occasionally an oil juglet replaces the square object. The arrangement of the four objects is not always the same; that shown here corresponds to that on the Jerash mosaic² and a carved stone found at Peqi'in.³

Three of the objects represented on both sides of the candlestick have been recognized at the first glance and their identification has never been doubted. The fourth object (the square 'box') has given rise to the most varied interpretations. It appears on many designs, including the Beit Alfa and Jerash mosaics; it has been always recognized as one and the same thing; nevertheless, there is no agreement as to what object it is meant for.⁴ It must be some object in use in the synagogue in view of the character of the other things appearing with it. It appears, however, safer to leave the matter at rest till a new discovery or a more convincing suggestion brings the solution of the problem.

The next panel to the right (Pl. XLI, 2; B on plan) is occupied by a wreath surrounding a Hebrew inscription (see below, p. 128 f.). About half of this panel is destroyed. The wreath itself consists of three pleats in the style of the African mosaics,⁵ with flowers represented by longish shapes, three-quarters of which are coloured red or blue, and the remainder white. The wreath shows at its top a red circle with chequer border and at a quarter of its circumference a red chequer square.

The wreath is one of the favourite objects of synagogue decoration in Galilee,⁶ especially in connexion with the entrance, on lintels, &c. Wreaths in pavements encircling inscriptions occur frequently on African church mosaics.⁷ Owing to the loss of the whole lower part of the wreath we cannot

¹ BA, Fig. 33, p. 30.

² See p. 120, n. 7.

³ BA, p. 29, Fig. 31.

⁴ Père Orfali called it an incense-burner (*Capharnaüm*, Paris, 1922, p. 93), Dr. Sukenik a scroll of the law (BA, pp. 27-32), Prof. Klein an alms-box (*Zion*, II, p. 19). Prof. Krauss agrees with the last-named (*Revue des études juives*, 1930, p. 412). Dr. Sukenik now believes it to represent a lectern (*Journ. Pal. Orient. Soc.*, XIII, pp. 221-5, Figs.). At a discussion in the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, following a paper read by the author, the following additional suggestions were made: a spice-box, a box for the *ethrog*, a fire-pan, a wine-cup.

⁵ *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, Vol. II, Nos. 71 d, 71 f, 125, 338, 560, 671, 940; Vol. III, Nos. 3, 41, 63, 138, 169, 171.

⁶ Kohl-Watzinger, *Synagogen in Galilaea*, Leipzig, 1916, p. 160, Figs. 291-2; p. 188 f.; Orfali, *Capharnaüm*, pp. 90 ff., and Fig. 72.

⁷ Also in the el-Hamme synagogue pavement.

A SIXTH-CENTURY SYNAGOGUE AT 'ISFIYA

tell whether here too the apotropaic 'Knot of Hercules' has been used; it is common in second-century synagogues.¹

The third panel to the right (Pl. XLII, 2; C on plan) shows another candlestick. Here the lower left corner is broken away as well as the lower part of the whole. A *shofar* and the square object can be distinguished on the right.

This candlestick differs to a certain extent from that on the left. Its branches are made from alternating square and round links and end in square tops from which the (red) flame is springing. This might be meant, of course, for the lamps seen from the front. The links are made of red and orange tesserae, each with a green glass tessera in the centre. It should be noted that the square object shows here a regular chequer pattern and corresponds in this detail with the representation on the Jerash mosaic.

The motif of two candlesticks flanking a central object—usually the shrine—is fairly common: it occurs at Beit Alfa, at 'Ein Dūk, and in a series of gilt vessels.² It is interesting to observe that here, as at Beit Alfa, the left candlestick carries lamps, while the right one shows none.

East of the three panels we find a three-line inscription (see below, p. 129 f.), in a *tabula ansata*, within an indented line (A 3)³ and a thick line made of two rows of tesserae (Pl. XLIII, 3; D on plan)⁴. The western of the indented lines was found continuing to the south inside a barn bordering the pavement on that side. A further trial pit inside the same barn made to the east with the hope of finding the continuation of the inscription brought to light the bedding alone.

This western border below the inscription could be further traced on the other (north) side along the three panels described above. At the second branch to the right of the left candlestick the double thick line turns east and can be traced for almost the whole length of the building; this was very useful in determining the north boundary of the central panels.

Proceeding still further east we found a narrow diagonal strip of what must have once been a panel representing a vine-trellis issuing from a vase, with birds in the medallions (Pl. XLIII, 1; E on plan). The vase must have been on the east side of the panel, as the branches seem to be spreading out westwards. The stems are in red and yellow, the grapes are bordered in black

¹ Orfali, *Capharnaüm*, Fig. 123; apotropaic ivy leaves issue from a wreath surrounding a candlestick at Gaza (Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, II, p. 393).

² BA, Figs. 22, 34, 38; Pl. Ia.

³ This and all similar references are to the patterns of mosaics published in this *Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 138-41.

⁴ Owing to an oversight in the plan, it appears as if the lower left part of the inscription had been preserved. This is not the fact.

with yellow body and white centre, the tendrils are red, the leaves green (glass tesserae). There is one bird in red, brown, and white, the eye in green glass (probably a partridge) picking at the grapes. The body of another bird (red border, green body) is preserved on the east. It appears that two peacocks were represented as facing each other over the inscription, much in the manner of the peacocks in the Beit Jibrin church inscription (*MPP*, 23 (8)). What remains is the head of one peacock and the head and neck of the other. They can be identified by the greyish tesserae of their heads, the green (glass) tesserae of the neck and the characteristic three feathers on their heads.

The appearance of this type of panel in a synagogue pavement is rather surprising. Its occurrence has hitherto been limited to church pavements¹ in which both the vine-trellis and the peacocks have been accorded symbolic meanings. As regards the latter the occurrence of peacocks facing each other in the Hammām Līf pavement as well as in purely pagan pavements² necessarily leads us to conclude that their alleged symbolic meaning was a later interpretation of a motif favourite with the mosaic worker from early times.³ A vine border appears at Beit Alfa; other Galilee synagogues show in their decorations various elements of this panel separately. Thus we see birds picking at grapes at Kh. Keraza,⁴ birds facing each other at Tall Hūm,⁵ a vine-trellis issuing from a vase at en-Nabratein.⁶ Nevertheless the existence of a complete panel of this type which we were led to associate exclusively with churches opens a new view on the relations of Christian and Jewish art in Byzantine times.

Proceeding still further east we find what appears to have been the main panel of the pavement, a Zodiac circle (Pl. XLIV, 1, 3; F on plan). It is in the common form of two concentric circles (radius = 60 and 138 cm.) within a square (2 m. 76 the side). The panels are 68 cm. long. This is the third Zodiac panel found, out of four synagogue pavements cleared west of the Jordan.⁷ Unfortunately this part of the pavement is in an especially bad state of preservation.

Only some insignificant fragments and part of the border of the inner circle could be recovered. These fragments do not suffice for an interpretation of

¹ On this motif in Palestine see *MPP*, p. 62.

² See *ibid.*, p. 62.

³ The two birds facing each other over a vase (as at Hammām Līf) originate with Sosus at Pergamum in the second century B.C. (Plin., *N.H.*, 36, 60).

⁴ Kohl-Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, Leipzig, 1916, p. 45, Fig. 86.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34, Fig. 68; Orfali, *Capharnaüm*, Paris, 1922, p. 37, Fig. 54.

⁶ Kohl-Watzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 104, Fig. 199. It must be remembered that the grape and the pomegranate are old symbols of Palestine, *ibid.*, p. 185.

⁷ The others are Beit Alfa and 'Ein Dūk.

A SIXTH-CENTURY SYNAGOGUE AT 'ISFIYĀ

their meaning; on analogy they ought to have belonged to a picture of the rising sun in its chariot.

Of the Zodiac properly speaking we could recover fragments of five signs, extending from the Archer to the Ram (from right to left, Pl. XLIV, 3).

The *Archer* is represented as turning right and shooting with his right arm raised. The nude body is made with brown and pink tesserae. He appears to wear over his shoulder a yellow garment falling in folds and rather reminiscent of the lion skin of the archer Heracles. It should be noted that the archer of Beit Alfa, though clad in a much less antique fashion, still wears a robe with yellow stripes.

Next to the Archer there follows a tiny fragment with the two horns of *Capricornus*. The horns are raised, not curved down as at Beit Alfa.

The third figure has given us the clue for the interpretation of the whole cycle and the proper sequence of the panels, as it is the only sign tolerably well preserved. It is represented by an amphora (in yellow with brown shadings), from which water (green tesserae) is flowing. This is clearly meant for the *Aquarius*, a sign occasionally represented in this form.¹

The next panel is almost entirely destroyed. A small fin and a fragment of a triangular tail in green glass is all that remains of the *Fishes*. As there is ample space in the panel we ought to assume that there were two fishes swimming in opposite directions, and joined by a line, as they are usually represented on the Zodiac in antiquity.²

The last remaining panel shows the two hind legs of the *Ram*, yellow, with a black border, showing clearly the hoofs and the tip of the tail.

In three of the panels, Archer, Aquarius, Fishes, the field is sprinkled with sprigs (types *F* 21 and 22) made of green glass and white, pink, and red stone cubes. Near the Aquarius sign we note a yellow branch.

Contrary to the practice at Beit Alfa and 'Ein Dūk all the figures of this Zodiac appear with their heads turned inwards. This arrangement favours the outside observer, while the usual one is calculated to give the best view to a person standing in the centre of the pavement. The arrangement here adopted is followed also by the Bir Chana Zodiac.³

The only preserved corner of the Zodiac shows a female head in red and pink, with well-marked features and black eyes looking right (Pl. XLIV, 1). This head is undoubtedly meant to represent a Season. It bears a necklace

¹ *BA*, p. 38; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v. Zodiaque*, p. 1061.

² Thus at Beit Alfa and Bir Chana (see below, n. 3), as well as in the Calendar of the year 354 A.D. (Strzygowski in *Ergänzungshefte zum Jahrbuch des deutschen arch. Instit.*, I, p. 61, Pl. XXXIII).

³ *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, II, No. 447.

in green glass tesserae and a complicated crown in alternating yellow and white strips, with a row of white and green tesserae in between. In these details it corresponds to the Autumn Season at Beit Alfa, which is adorned in a similar fashion. The surrounding surface is strewn with pomegranates (red, with stalks in green glass), ears of corn, and two curious objects which we cannot identify with certainty. One is formed by two diverging black lines with a yellow body and a green band in the middle; it stretches from the head to the right. The other is a curving object in black, set in a yellow handle and having greyish teeth on its lower side. We would suggest that the former was meant for a shade(?) or wings(?), while the latter represents perhaps a sickle (as the one held by the Summer Season at Beit Jibrīn, *MPP*, 23)¹ or a palm leaf (cf. the Autumn Season at Beit Alfa).

The representation of the Seasons by busts, especially in the corner of the circular pavements, was a very common one.²

There was no trace of any inscription accompanying the Zodiac. We would suggest that this is due to the small space available. This is the smallest Zodiac on record in Palestine.

The relation between the signs of the Zodiac and the Seasons is one of particular difficulty. It should be noted that neither at Beit Alfa nor at 'Ein Dūk do the Seasons correspond to their actual signs of the Zodiac. The artist seems in both cases to have counted the Seasons as embracing three (Roman) calendar months, thus naturally making the beginning of the 'winter season' (placed where the spring season ought to be) fall at about three-quarters of the sign of the Ram, i.e. from April to June. This is effected by a slight turn in the Zodiac wheel within its square frame, so that none of the spokes falls exactly in the middle of a side. As regards Beit Alfa we should note that both the sequence of the signs and that of the Seasons run counter-clockwise, but that the Seasons have moved by one place to the left. Thus to correct the mistake we ought to move each Season one place back clockwise; then Spring will fall on the Ram-Bull-Twins signs, Summer on Cancer-Lion-Virgin, &c.

At 'Ein Dūk the matter is somewhat different. The turn mentioned above exists here too. The signs of the Zodiac turn, however, with the clock, while the Seasons run counter-clockwise, as at Beit Alfa. It follows that while Summer and Winter each appear near their proper signs, Spring and Autumn

¹ Cf. the sickle (with dentition) held by the Summer Season in the Zliten mosaic (S. Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten*, Roma, 1928, Fig. 65), and the Palermo and Lambaesis pavements.

² See the indices to *Inventaire*, s.v. Saisons; and P. Gauckler, *Musivum opus*, in Daremberg-Saglio, p. 2119, n. 10.

A SIXTH-CENTURY SYNAGOGUE AT 'ISFIYĀ

seem to have changed places, the former being near (but not quite at, owing to the turn of the wheel mentioned above) the Ram-Bull-Twins; the latter near the Balance-Scorpion-Archer.¹

The Zodiac at 'Isfiyā is the first instance of the division of the circle co-ordinated with the divisions of the square, each quarter taking exactly three panels. The order adopted resembles that of 'Ein Dūk, i.e. it follows the clock. Curiously enough the counter-clockwise movement of the Seasons seems to have been adopted here too. The Season represented appears to be Autumn (תשרי) judging from the pomegranates and the palm leaf(?), a palm tree being shown at Beit Alfa near this Season. It corresponds, however, to the signs Fishes-Ram-Bull, i.e. the last Winter sign and two Spring signs. Here too it appears that the signs have moved by one place.

Mosaic representations of the Zodiac are comparatively rare in antiquity. Among the thousands of pavements described in *Inventaire*, there are only five Zodiac pavements which are not medieval (Vol. I, Nos. 1382, 1393, 1622; Vol. II, No. 447; Vol. III, No. 41). On the other hand they are much more numerous in church pavements of the tenth to twelfth centuries, especially in France (*Inventaire*, Vol. I, Nos. 760, 763, 779, 826, 1090, 1147, 1665), considering the paucity of medieval mosaics. Zodiac pictures continued to be popular among Jews in the Middle Ages for illuminating manuscripts or books of prayer (Maḥzor) at the prayer for dew (Kaufmann in *REJ*, 1886, XIII, p. 50). A certain influence of the synagogue pavements of the sixth century on medieval church pavements suggests itself. Medieval churches in the West seem also to have taken over the custom of representing Biblical scenes on mosaic pavements, a custom abhorred by the Eastern Church.

The recovered aisle and the borders of the main hall to east and west show (with the exception of the three panels described above) a uniform decorative scheme varying only in width (60 cm. in the borders, 1 m. in the aisle). (Pl. XLIII, 2; H on plan, and Pl. XLIV, 2; G on plan.)

It represents diagonal double lines (H_1) filled with a rich variety of ornaments, such as meanders, 'duplex' signs (I_4 here almost square), counter-changing lines, chequers (G_3), circles intersected by arcs (type J_3), all of them well-known geometrical ornaments, of frequent occurrence in mosaic pavements.

At the second pillar from the east (I on plan) the pavement has been repaired with coarse reddish tesserae much bigger in size than those of the original

¹ Thus both Père Vincent and Dr. Sukenik are right, the former in asserting that the Seasons are in their proper places (true as regards Summer and Winter) and the latter in stating the contrary (true as regards Spring and Autumn). Cf. *BA*, p. 38 and n. 4.

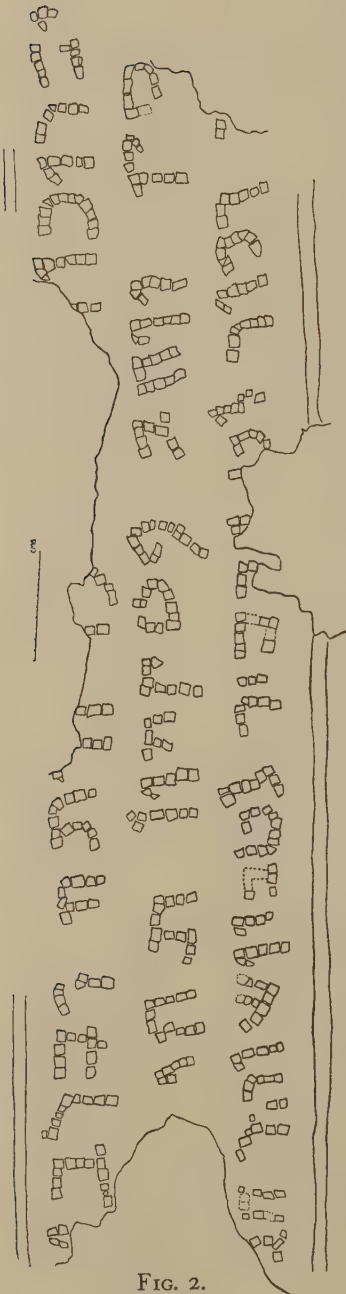


FIG. 2.

work. The cement used here also differs from the rest in its reddish and gritty appearance. On the whole the pavement is of fairly fine work, 65 tesserae being counted to 10 cm. sq. The red, yellow, white, pink, brown, and orange tesserae appear to be of local origin; in clearing the rock-cut wall east of the building the workmen occasionally chipped off small pieces of the soft local limestone with identical hues of red, orange, and yellow. The bluish pieces of stone in the wreath and the sickle(?) have the smooth hard look of marble.

The profusion of green glass tesserae deserves special notice. It is characteristic of the site. Such profusion is natural, for the glass factories of Greece were easily accessible by sea and those of Tyre were near at hand.¹ The village overlooks the very spot near the mouth of the river Belus (Kishon) where glass was supposed to have been first invented (Plin., *N. H.*, XXXVI, 65).

The technical execution of the pavement is of a fairly high level as far as one can judge from the extant fragments. Although the head of the Season is simplified in the extreme, it conveys a much more life-like impression than those of Beit Alfa. The fragmentary figure of the Archer, e.g., is correctly drawn, better than the corresponding figure at Beit Alfa.

The Inscriptions: (i) Inside the wreath at the entrance (Pl. XLI, 2; B on plan). Two-line inscription in black and white, well-formed letters, easily legible: *שלום/על ישראל* *Peace upon Israel*. The middle line is in the centre of the wreath and we ought perhaps to complete: *[אמן]* *Amen*. This formula is based on the conclusion of Ps. cxxv. 5, and occurs at

¹ Benjamin of Tudela (ed. Asher, p. 30) speaks of Jews as exercising the profession of glass manufacturers at Tyre as late as the twelfth century.

A SIXTH-CENTURY SYNAGOGUE AT 'ISFIYĀ

various places in Palestine and Trans-Jordan, e.g., at Jerash:¹

שלום על כל ישראל אמן אמן סלה;

at Kh. Hebra near Yabne:²

שלום על ישראל לעולם;

at Kafr Bir'īm (cf. also 'Almā):³ יהי שלום במקום זה ובכל מקומות ישראל

(ii) The second inscription (Pl. XLIII, 3, see Fig. 2 opposite) was longer, but is unfortunately in a much worse state. It is in three lines, each 6 cm. high (existing length 1 m. 30, existing width 27 cm.), framed in a double line. About 65 cm. must be missing from the beginning and about 90 cm. from the end; thus of a total of 2 m. 80 we have less than the half. Apart from this the text shows several minor lacunae. The letters and the spelling are clumsy and below the standard of (i). Besides, the inscription has been much battered and presents an uneven surface. Nevertheless its general dedicatory character can be clearly established from the existing fragments and corresponds to that of synagogue inscriptions from other places.

(1) --- וברוכה . . . פ' זורתה דברבי ---

(2) --- [דכיר לטב כל מן דפ] סק ויהב פסקתה תהי [להוה ברכתה] ---

(3) --- י דכיר לטב דכיר לטב יושיה ד(י)הב ---

. . . and blessed be . . . of the scholar . . . / . . . (Honoured be the memory of every one who) promised and gave his donation, be (he blessed) [or: be (his lot with the just)] . . . / . . . Honoured be the memory (twice) of Josiah who gave . . .

L. 1. The formula ברוכה is unusual. Here it refers to a woman. Women donors occur at 'Ein Dūk (MPP, 69).⁴

(*) 'ברבי'—'the scholar' was a honorific title common at that period (Klein, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, Wien, 1920, p. 36, Nos. 110, 111, 114 (all from Jaffa).

L. 2. The beginning of this line has been completed on the analogy of 'Ein Dūk (MPP, 69); the end on the analogy of Kafr Kanna (MPP, 167) and of Klein, *loc. cit.*, p. 78. An alternative reading of the end is:

תהי [להוה חולקהון עם צדיקים] or תהי [להוה חולקהון עם אברהם יצחק]

¹ See p. 120, n. 7; and Krauss in *Revue des études juives*, 1930, p. 411.

² Klein, *Corpus inscriptionum*, Wien, 1920, p. 54 f.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 77 and p. 79.

⁴ Prof. S. Klein, of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, to whom this inscription was submitted, read it: בריכה חליפו אחתה דברבי . . . [ברוך כל מן] / דפסק ויהב [בר]

פסקתה תהי [לה ברכתה] / ודכיר לטב ודכיר לטב יושיהו [בר]
The name Ḥalifu occurs at 'Ein Dūk.

(*) The remarks with an asterisk the author owes to the kindness of Prof. Klein.

(Kh. Keraza, Ory in *QSt.*, 1927, p. 51f., Marmorstein, *ibid.*, p. 101f.; er Rame, Marmorstein in *QSt.*, 1933, p. 100f.).

(*) פסקתה—The word occurs frequently in the sense of 'donation', 'subscription'. In Ta'anit VIII, ע"ב at the end, we find a saying of R. Yohanan: אין הגשמים נעצרין אלא בשביל פוסקי צדקה ברבים ואין נותנין 'Rains are not withheld save owing to those who publicly promise subscriptions for charities and do not give them'. It will be seen that there was an evil custom of promising and then not fulfilling the promise; it is clear therefore why those who both promised *and* gave were singled out for a special blessing.

L. 3. יאשיה for ישיה. A similar case is the מוֹנִים for מוֹנִים in the 'Ein Dūk Zodiac.

The inscription thus agrees very well with the tenor of the other synagogue inscriptions found in Palestine (*MPP*, 22, 69, 86, 167, 296); unfortunately it too does not give any date or place-name.

Conclusion. In attempting a reconstruction of the building we assume that a line passing through the centre of the Zodiac circle, parallel to the existing north wall, divided the building into two symmetrical halves. This would give us a nearly square basilica (see plan), its assumed width (10 m. 70) slightly exceeding its ascertained length (10 m. 10). Owing to the impossibility of excavating round the site we could not ascertain the existence of any side rooms, such as are usually found, or of steps leading to a gallery, or of a courtyard.

The synagogue is clearly orientated to the east, thus conforming with the orientation of the other Carmel synagogue at Kh. Semmāqa.¹ The orientation is confirmed by the find of a threshold in the west, by the direction of the inscriptions, which can be read only by a person entering from the west, by the position of the wreath which normally was placed near the entrance, and by the fact that no traces of doors were found in the north side. This orientation ignores indeed the true position of Jerusalem; it arose from the fact that the Carmel was situated close to the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, the western boundary of Palestine, and the position of synagogues on it was assimilated to those on the shore due west of Jerusalem. It must be remembered that the Carmel belonged in ancient times to Phoenicia, more especially to Tyre² or Acre, and not to Galilee, where the synagogues were turned south.

A slight anomaly due perhaps to local causes which we cannot establish

¹ Kohl-Watzinger, p. 139. *BA*, p. 11, n. 2.

² Josephus, *B. J.*, III, 35; Eus., *Onom.*, 272, 79.



FIG. 1. SITE BEFORE EXCAVATION, LOOKING EAST



FIG. 2. CENTRAL PANEL AT ENTRANCE (B)

THE 'ISFIYĀ SYNAGOGUE



FIG. 1. ENTRANCE, LEFT PANEL (A)



FIG. 2. ENTRANCE, RIGHT PANEL (C)

THE 'TSIYÁ SYNAGOGUE



FIG. 1. FRAGMENT OF PAVEMENT,
CENTRAL NAVE (E)



FIG. 2. NORTH AISLE (H)



FIG. 3. THE DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION (D)

THE 'ISFIYĀ SYNAGOGUE



FIG. 1. DETAIL OF ZODIAC



FIG. 2. EAST BORDER (G)



FIG. 3. THE ZODIAC PANEL, CENTRAL NAVE (F)

THE 'ISFIYĀ SYNAGOGUE

A SIXTH-CENTURY SYNAGOGUE AT 'ISFIYĀ

ought to be noted, viz. that the three panels at the entrance are not centred in line with the centre of the Zodiac.

The east wall showed no traces of an apse. The pavement of the east border was traced over the central point and continues without any interruption which could mark the place of the shrine or steps leading to it. The 'Īsfiyā synagogue agrees with the younger group of synagogues¹ as regards the orientation and decoration, but it belongs to the elder group as regards the absence of a fixed place for the shrine.²

The position of the building near the top of Mount Carmel corresponds to the precepts of the Rabbinical Law.³ In any case it commands an immense view over the Plain of Acre to the Tyrian Ladder. On clear days the peak of the Hermon can be seen across the mountains of Galilee.

We are unfortunately unable as yet to identify the name of the village of which this was the place of worship.⁴

We are better informed as to the destruction of the building. The right part of the candlestick on the left, the borders of the inscription, and the centre of the Zodiac show clear traces of discoloration due to fire. At the south-east corner there was evidence of a layer of burning over the pavement. Like the el-Hamme synagogue, this building too seems to have perished in flames.⁵ The most probable date for the pavement being the late fifth or early sixth century (as results from analogy with Beit Alfa), the destruction may have been due to some riot connected with the anti-Jewish policy of Justinian,⁶ which is indicated also by the destruction of the Jerash synagogue, over which a church was built in A.D. 530.

M. AVI-YONAH.

¹ *BA*, p. 50.

² Possibly the shrine was fixed in a wall above the floor level and has disappeared with the rest of the wall.

³ Kaufmann, *Synagogale Altertümer*, Berlin, 1922, p. 286 f. and the sources quoted there. See also Kohl-Watzinger, p. 138.

⁴ The present village of 'Isfiyā is a creation of the eighteenth century; but Roman and Byzantine coins and ancient tombs found there attest the existence of an ancient settlement. The name has a proper Arabic meaning (عسفيّا, the devious one, *Survey Western Palestine, Name List*, p. 109). Cf. also Van de Velde, *Reis door Syrie en Palestina*, Utrecht, 1854, I, pp. 236-8; Müllinen in *ZDPV*, 1908, pp. 103 ff.; *SWP*, I, p. 281 f.; Sepp, *Neue Entdeckungen*, Munich, 1896, I, p. 17. Prof. Klein kindly informed the author that he considers Γαβε (Jos., *B. J.*, III, 36; Plin., *N.H.*, V, 18; *Onom.*, 246, 53) a possible identification. Jewish settlements on the Carmel are found elsewhere, especially at Kh. Semmāqa (see p. 121, n. 2, end).

⁵ It should be noted that as at Beit Alfa (as opposed to 'Ein Dūk) there was not the slightest trace of iconoclastic destruction.

⁶ See Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, pp. 419-22.

NABATEAN POTTERY FROM THE NEGEB

Its Distribution in Palestine

DURING February 1933, in the course of a few days' visit of inspection to that part of the Negeb lying between Beersheba and Kosseima, passing into Northern Sinai, by Mr. H. D. Colt, Mr. R. W. Hamilton, and myself, the following sites were visited: Isbeita, el 'Auja, Kosseima, 'Ein el Guderat, Bir Birein, el Mishrefa, el Khalasa, Kurnub, and Tall es Sabi'. All of these sites were visited by Lawrence and Woolley during their admirable rapid survey in 1913-14,¹ and some of them by Mr. Huntington in 1909.² The general result of their work at that time was to show that these towns flourished primarily in the Byzantine period, say from c. 350 to 636 A.D., with a few indications that occupation extended back here and there into pre-Christian times, e.g. a Nabatean inscription from el Khalasa.³ Now Lawrence and Woolley's account of this Byzantine settlement of the Negeb is of great interest, and their view is unquestionably correct that the occupation was made possible by the collection and conservation of such rain-water as did fall, in opposition to Mr. Huntington's thesis of a marked change in the climate of the region. Everywhere one sees evidence of the great importance attached to the conservation of water. Large cisterns occur in the atrium of every church, and in the houses; there are large reservoirs and dams; across every wady one may still trace the terrace-walls and the tamarisk hedges planted to hold together the soil and retain every drop of moisture. All this as Lawrence and Woolley described. By careful storage of water, the Romans and Byzantines could maintain forts and towns either out in the Syrian Desert or in the wastes of Sinai.

At the time of Lawrence and Woolley's survey, however, little was known of the pottery of Palestine and its neighbours. As a natural result, any earlier settlement on these sites, which would not be represented by architectural or monumental remains visible on the surface, but rather by pottery fragments, would be largely a closed book. This is exactly what we find in their account. At el Khalasa a Nabatean inscription was actually discovered, from which, and from 'the size of the vast rubbish-heaps that surround the town' (*op. cit.*, p. 109) the authors suspect that the history of el Khalasa extends 'back into the pre-Christian period' (a moderate estimate), and that 'it is quite possible

¹ Cf. Lawrence and Woolley, *The Wilderness of Zin*, Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1914-15.

² Ellsworth Huntington, *Palestine and its Transformation*, London, 1912, Ch. VI.

³ Lawrence and Woolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 145.

NABATEAN POTTERY FROM THE NEGEB

that a good deal of the town was rebuilt when the other cities of the south were being founded'. They mention not finding 'any very early pottery'. It is certain, however, that if they had enjoyed the knowledge of the pottery types which we enjoy to-day, they would have found much evidence of considerable occupation, at least of some of these sites, and of a developed trade, during the Hellenistic period. They would, in fact, have found Nabatean pottery, the occurrence of which it is the main purpose of this article to record.

The Nabatean kingdom was closely related to and a direct result of the Hellenistic civilization which flourished in Palestine and Syria. The Nabateans were an Arab race who prospered phenomenally as a result of their position on the trade routes across Arabia which sprang up from the fourth century B.C., to supply the growing demands of Europe, especially Greece and, somewhat later, Italy, for the products of the East. They adopted Greek civilization but wrote in Aramaic, and have left astounding examples of their work in temples and tombs, houses and amphitheatres, throughout the region of which Petra is the centre and itself the principal monument. Their pottery was of marvellous fineness and texture; unrecognized until a few years ago, it has been identified and studied lately by Mrs. Horsfield (formerly Miss Conway). The area within which it has been found is continually expanding, especially in the region of S.E. Trans-Jordan, and its wide extent is a witness to the power and development of this extraordinary people, who provide another remarkable instance of nomads taking up a settled life and rapidly attaining a high level of civilization. It is incidentally a witness also to the far-reaching influence of Hellenic art and technique. Politically, the Nabatean kingdom lasted from about the fourth century B.C. until 106 A.D., when it was reduced by Trajan and incorporated in the new province of Arabia. Nabatean art lasted longer, has left many traces in the Roman architectural remains of the Hauran, at Bosra and elsewhere, and influenced to no inconsiderable extent the early days of Islam. A country which, itself Arab in population, had adopted a Hellenistic culture for some four or five centuries, was clearly going to be of great use in the relations between the Arab conquerors and the Byzantines.

Nabatean potsherds were found by us on this occasion at the following places: el 'Auja, el Khalasa, Kurnub, and Tall es Sabi'. Hitherto, as far as I am aware, the only places where it has been recognized west of the Dead Sea—Wādī 'Arabah depression are Tall el 'Ujūl near Gaza (one fragment¹) and

¹ Now in the Ethnographical Museum, Cambridge, Mus. Cat. No. 29.902 (communicated to me by the kindness of Mrs. Horsfield, to whose courtesy I am indebted for a photograph). The Tall Fari'a piece I have not seen.

Tall Fari'a,¹ in the same region. Both these are near the Mediterranean terminus (Gaza) of the great caravan route leading via Petra, from the Persian Gulf and Arabia, and point to this pottery having travelled along this route—westwards, to judge by its increasing rarity as one approaches the Mediterranean.

The sites above-mentioned where we have lately found this pottery are all either on the direct route from Petra to Gaza, or at important points in close association with it. Perhaps its occurrence at Tall es Sabi', even though in only two or three fragments, is as interesting a circumstance as any. It may be that further study of the Late Iron Age sites of South Palestine will produce more of this ware.

The Nabatean potsherds found are illustrated on Pls. XLV to XLVIII. All are small fragments, but exhibit most of the typical Nabatean patterns, the large palmette-tree, the network of fine lines, sometimes with dots at the ends, and the alternating patches of dark and light being conspicuous. One type occurred which I only doubtfully class as Nabatean, it being a heavier ware, usually fragments of upright-sided bowls, with light and dark bands alternating. Examples appear from el 'Auja south, and from Tall es Sabi' (Pls. XLVII and XLVIII). This ware also occurred at el Mishrefa, where the typical fine and thin Nabatean was not found.

It is perhaps worth recording that at el 'Auja only a few fragments occurred among the ruins of the town at the south foot of the hill. The majority, shown on Pl. XLVII, were found in several collapsed circular structures of mud-brick dating from the war of 1915-18, on the north slope; the earth of which the bricks had been made contained a large quantity of Nabatean sherds. We were unable, in the time at our disposal, to ascertain the exact spot whence this earth had been taken, but it seems to indicate a place rich in Nabatean pottery close at hand.

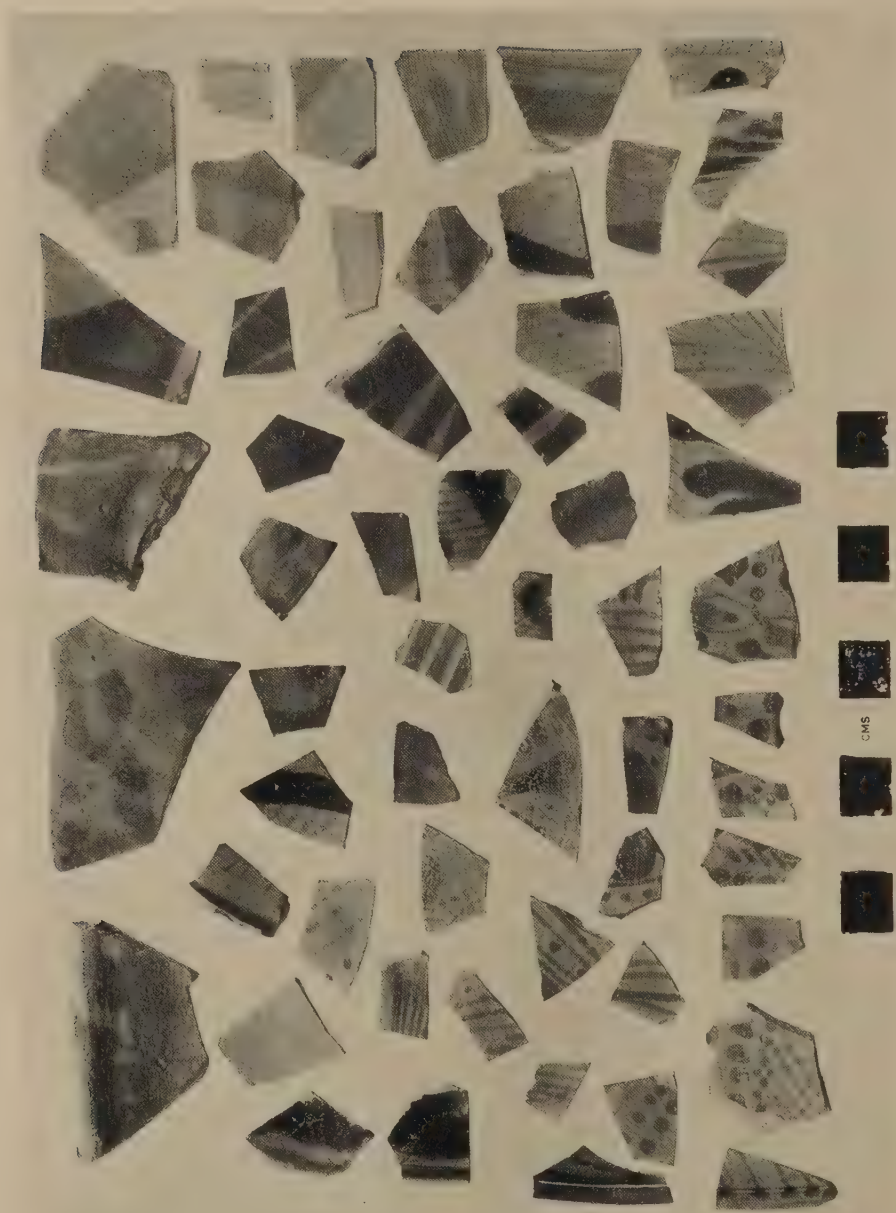
Much Terra Sigillata, tentatively to be identified as Island or Anatolian, occurred along with the Nabatean at most places where the latter was found. At Kurnub, in particular, it was noted that Terra Sigillata preponderated markedly over the ribbed Roman and Byzantine sherds. Black-glazed Greek ware was found at el Khalasa and Tall es Sabi'; also the familiar small Hellenistic dishes with incurving rim. It is clear that these sites had begun to be occupied at any rate by the commencement of the second century B.C., when the black glaze had not yet completely given way to the red.

In addition to the Nabatean pottery and Sigillata, two decorated Arabic

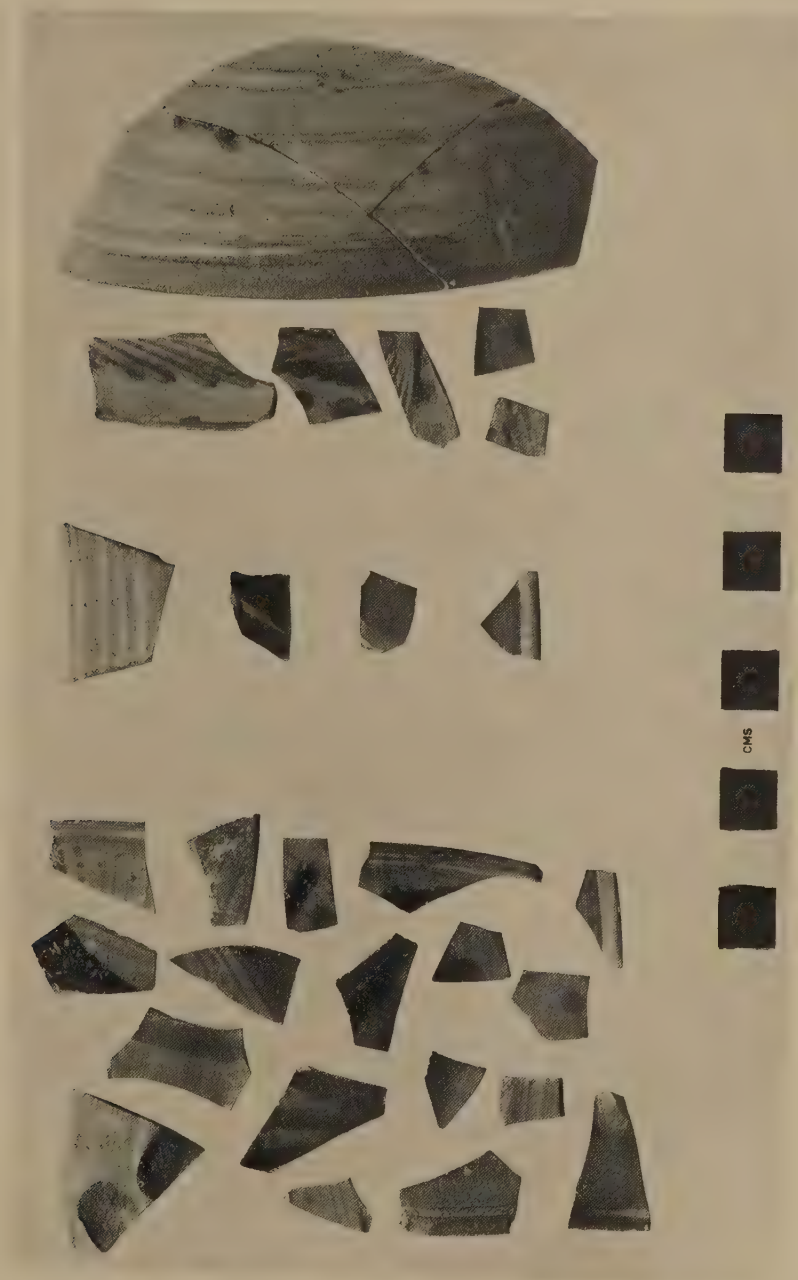
¹ Cf. Starkey and Harding, *Bethpelet II*, Pl. LXIV, 60.



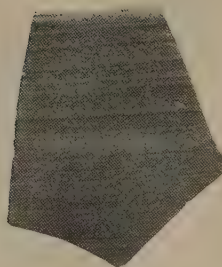
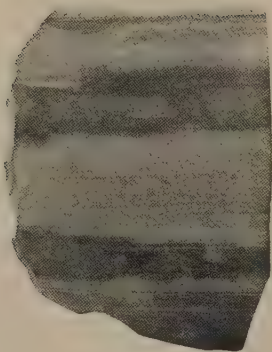
NABATEAN POTTERY FROM 'AUJA (N.)



NABATEAN POTTERY FROM KURNUB



NABATEAN POTTERY FROM EL KHALASA, TALL ES SABI, AND 'AUJA (S.)



1



2



CMS



NABATEAN (?) AND ARABIC POTTERY FROM 'AUJA (S.)

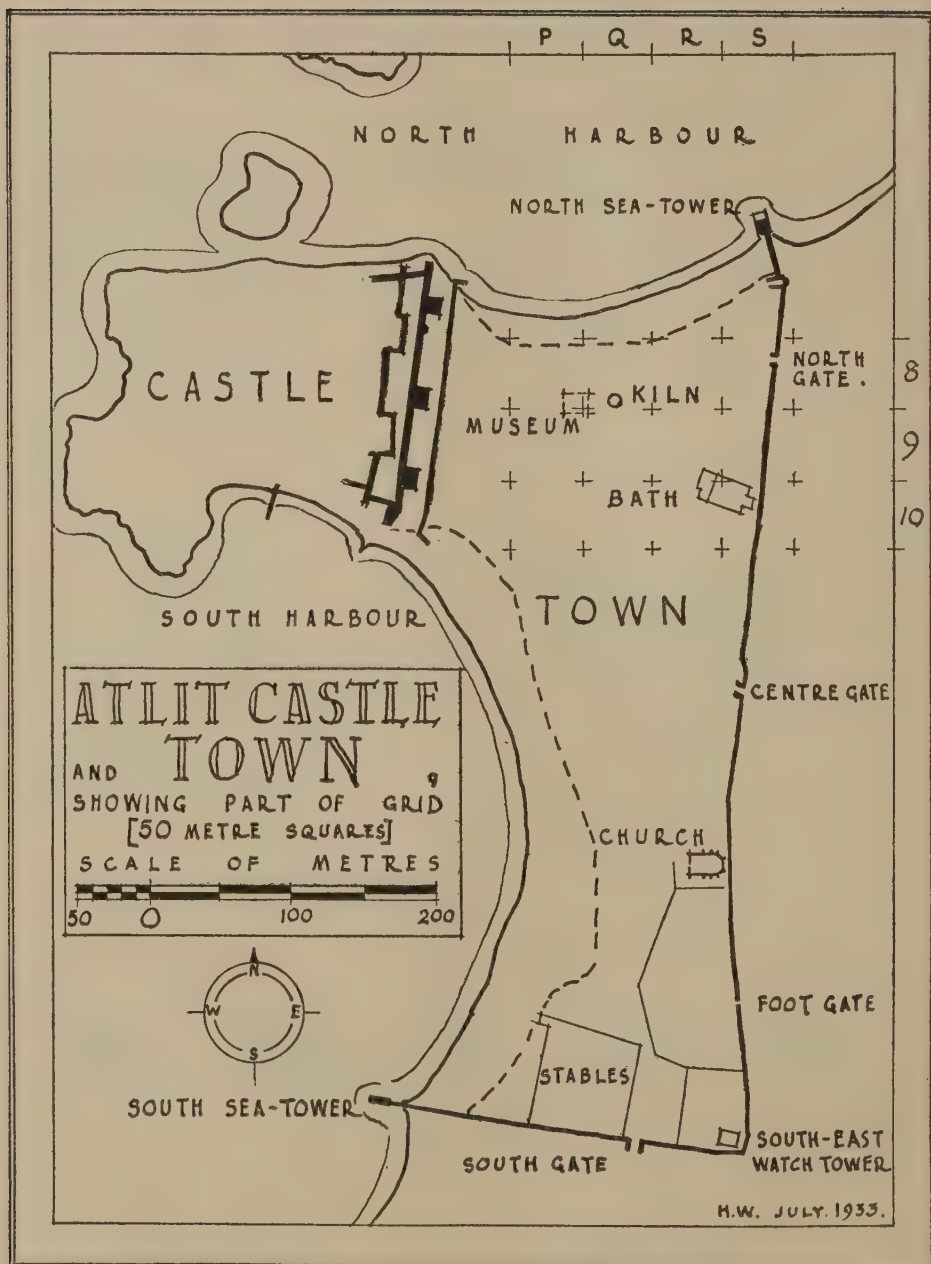
NABATEAN POTTERY FROM THE NEGEB

sherds of fourteenth-century date were found at el 'Auja (Pl. XLVIII, 1 and 2). They belong to a class of moulded, unglazed wares, and have been found e.g. at Baalbek.¹

It is hoped to visit more of these sites in the Negeb as opportunity offers, and to link up the finds of Nabatean ware in Palestine with those of Trans-Jordan.

J. H. ILIFFE.

¹ Cf. Kohl, Sarre, &c., *Baalbek*, III Band, Berlin, 1925, pp. 115-23; J. Sauvaget, *Poteries Syro-Mésopotamiennes du XIV^e siècle* (Documents d'études orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas), *passim*.



MEDIEVAL SLIP-WARE FROM PILGRIMS' CASTLE,
'ATLĪT' (1930-1)

THE top or medieval occupation of the faubourg at 'Atlīt, notably at the area in P-8¹, is chiefly characterized by its glazed slip-ware. With it go buckles in bronze and bone and little pendant crosses in mother-of-pearl, also a few bronze and many thin billon coins. Apart from obvious intrusions of recent date, or from the level below, these coins are predominantly of the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, viz. *deniers* of Amalric and John of Brienne, Hugh I and Henry I of Cyprus, the Counts of Tripoli from Raymond III onwards, together with bronze coins of the Ayyubid house and a few of Baybars. Including a few *deniers* of Burgundy, Deols, and Aragon, this area has produced what is perhaps a representative collection of the coins current throughout the Crusader occupation and immediately after the Mamluk conquest. There is a significant preponderance of the coins of Henry I of Cyprus (1218-53) and a significant lack of later Mamluk coins. Much the same series with much the same assortment of objects came from a large disused kiln in Q-8, containing a profusion of coloured glazed sherds. When it was no longer wanted as a kiln it must have become the rubbish tip of the surrounding area; from top to bottom it was strewn with the fragments of discarded cooking pots (resembling the one in Pl. LVII, 3, with a simple transparent glaze) and also broken slip-ware for the table. Of the slip-ware nearly a hundred pieces have been partly reconstructed: a selection of the better ones are illustrated on Pls. XLIX-LVI, and described on pp. 142-4. They show a marked division into two classes of manufacture: (1) white or buff pottery with painted designs under a colourless transparent glaze, and (2) red pottery with designs incised through the slip under a tinted transparent glaze, sometimes variegated. Plates of the former class are fewer but they reach a higher standard of artistic achievement; those of the latter are comparatively common but are frequently distinguished by being emblazoned.

The light, whitish clay of the former class did not lend itself to fine potting; the plates have rude ring bases and are often out of true (Fig. 1, *a-c*, p. 138).² But the drawing is firm, naturalistic, and often animated. The figures are outlined in either a purple-black or a dark coffee brown, they are usually washed in either with cobalt blue or russet brown. But the more formal arabesque designs are drawn and hatched entirely in purple (Pl. LII, 1),

¹ See plan opposite.

² From drawings made by Mr. J. C. B. Richmond, who has given valuable help in the conduct of the excavations as well as in the study of the pottery.

in one case with touches of carmine red (Pl. LI, 3). The ground of this white or buff body ware is always more or less white, and was probably due to a siliceous slip unless the clay used for the body was exceptionally clean; the slip is difficult to detect outside the glazed surface but may be inferred from the practice of the Armenian potters in Jerusalem who carry on the tradition of manufacture derived from pottery such as this. In a few excep-

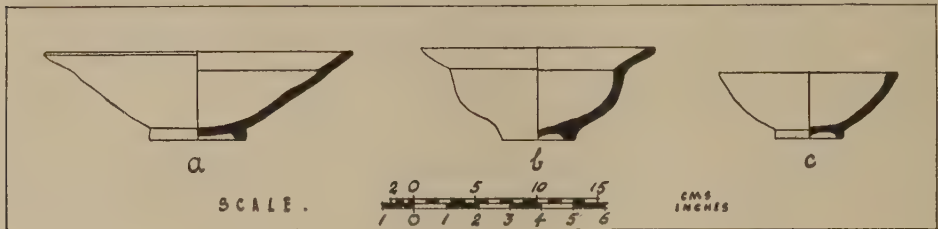


FIG. 1.

tional instances where the body was red it is clear that the whole vessel was coated with a smooth buff slip. It is curious that in two of these instances (Pl. LV, 1, 2) the painting was done in coffee brown and copper green, colours more typical of the *graffiato* ware which at first sight it resembles. One in particular, No. 2, has a bird like a peacock which probably had a branch hanging from its beak, a motif not at all uncommon in the *graffiato* ware¹ of the period. In this painted ware animal subjects were usual, for example, lions, deer, birds, and fish (Pls. XLIX–LIII). But human figures occur dressed in pleated robes (Pl. XLIX, 1), and also ships (Pl. LI, 2). Inside little bowls there occurs the hatched arabesque already noted, or more commonly just a circle in the base, also hatched in criss-cross fashion. Most of the plates have a herring-bone border on the side, streaked with blue or brown, whichever was used for filling the figure.

The other and larger class which is usually decorated in *graffiato* almost always has a body of reddish colour, more or less porous. Generally it burns buff to light red, but in many cases it is deep red, brown, or almost black, practically a stone ware. In any case this red pottery bakes a good deal harder than the white, and hence its shapes are better finished (Fig. 2, p. 139).² Bowls and dishes are commoner than plates, and lamps of various shapes were chiefly of this ware (Pl. LVII, 1). The bowls have high hollow bases, cf. Fig. 2, g, h, i; their rims have a collar, plain or twisted (f), or are carinated (g), or even gadrooned (i). On this darker body a good coat of white or cream

¹ Cf. R. L. Hobson, *British Museum Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East*, London, 1932, Fig. 37, Pl. XIII.

² Also from drawings made by Mr. J. C. B. Richmond.

MEDIEVAL SLIP-WARE, 'ATLIT

slip was essential to give a light ground for the design, and is usually to be seen just outside the glazed surface on some part of the outer rim. The design was incised through this slip with a fine or broad point. On the slip the glaze fired light to dark green or yellow to brown; in the incisions where it collected and combined with the body, to a much darker hue, which also occurs wherever it overlapped the slip on the outside of the vessel. Conversely, if the

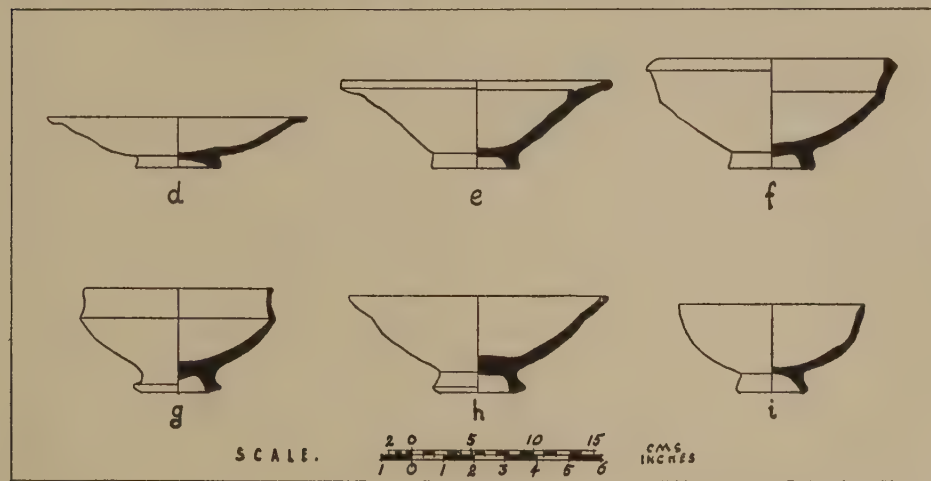


FIG. 2.

design was painted with the slip, glazing produced a light design on a dark ground as on the bottle illustrated in Pl. LVII, 2. This rough and ready style seems to have been quite as common as the incised or *graffiato*, but was naturally confined to bold whorls and waves. In the *graffiato* a much greater variety and precision of drawing was possible, while on a light ground of pale yellow or green the pattern could be variegated with splashes of copper green or a rusty brown rather like burnt caramel. This technique lent itself especially to the formal floral, scale, or feather patterns that are its most remarkable development at 'Atlit (Pls. LIV–LVI). The majority of the pieces, however, are plain green or brown except for a number of concentric rings, a simple arabesque, a crude animal, or a blazon in the base.

On some of the *graffiato* dishes there are motifs strongly reminiscent of European heraldry, if not the actual blazons of crusading feudatories or passing crusaders. The most distinctive is a shield in fesse bordered by a fringe of feathers (Pl. LV, 1). The shield is splashed with the usual rusty brown which may equally well stand for *gules* or *or*; the fesse is left plain, of

the same cream colour as the ground, and may well be *argent*. Inside the rim is a design which seems to be based upon the feathers of a wing, also splashed with brown. It has been tentatively suggested¹ that this may be the coat of Austria, gules and fesse argent, first borne by Frederic II (1230-46), an identification which is perhaps borne out by the feathers, since the crest of the Hapsburg house elected in 1282 was a panache of peacock's feathers arising out of a coronet. Alternatively the blazon may belong to the crusading family of Ibelin, feudatories of Tripoli and Antioch in the thirteenth century.² *A priori* this seems more probable. But the coat was a common one and its tincture is uncertain owing to the fact that the artist's palette was limited. On three other plates the same shield, daubed with the same tint but without the fringe, is combined with another device (Pl. LV, 3), a sort of trefoil which may be compared with a Calvary, cf. also Pl. LV, 4.³ Some other Crusading devices on sherds from the neighbouring bath-house in R-10 were illustrated in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine*, Vol. I, Pl. LIII, 1.

In point of number by far the most important of the blazons is one of Saracenic origin: a round shield crossed by a number of strokes varying from five to ten, but usually five or six. It has been found in every building yet cleared, nearly always on the bases of bowls (Pl. LVI, 1), but also as part of a pattern (*ibid.*). It occurs so frequently that it seems likely that it belonged to a warden of the castle and was used to mark the table-ware supplied to his retainers. If so, whose was it? The round shield is certainly Saracenic but the strokes across it might be either bars or bends. If they were bars it might be ascribed to Bahādur, a *mamluk* of Manjak al-Yūsufī, Viceroy of Syria in the reign of Barqūq. In the sole known instance his shield consists of five bars only,⁴ yet a certain variation was permissible in representing such blazons, especially to a potter. As major-domo (*'ustadār*) to Manjak he may have held the district (*'amal*) of 'Atlīt for a time about the middle of the fourteenth century. If the strokes represent bends, however, no exact identification is possible. The only known instances of bends are on the lower field only of the divided shield of the Ḥama branch of the

¹ By the kindness of Mr. A. Van de Put, Keeper of the Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, who cites a seal of Albert, duke of Austria and Styria, 1295, Douet d'Arcq, *Inventaire des Sceaux de l'Empire*, III, No. 10986.

² A suggestion also due to Mr. Van de Put, quoting Chamberlayne, *Lacrimae Nicossiensis*, 66, &c.

³ Surmounted by a cross it was used on Byzantine tombstones, *v.* Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, 1873-4, Palestine Exploration Fund, London, 1899, Vol. II, pp. 407, 409, 410, 416, Nos. 8, 11, 13, 24.

⁴ Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1933), p. 96.

MEDIEVAL SLIP-WARE, 'ATLĪT

Ayyubid family, beginning with Abū-l-Fidā' (1273-1331), who became Governor of Hama in 1310. The family shield is emblazoned bendy of ten or twelve pieces.¹ But even if our blazon cannot be assigned to any member of his house, it is still possible that it was incorrectly copied by one of his household, say by a *mamluk* like Bahādūr who held his commission at 'Atlīt. Whichever it was these two instances both tend to show that it dates from the Mamluk occupation of 'Atlīt during the fourteenth century. There is another blazon of less frequent occurrence which would be still more suitable to a warden of the castle; a key, in one instance double or possibly treble (Pl. LVI, 2, 3).²

In conclusion it should be emphasized that the two classes of pottery have commonly been found side by side, whether in the kiln or in the house rubbish of the northern end of the town. From the coins and other objects associated with the sherds it appears that their combined range was from the Crusading occupation (1217-91) into the first century of the Mamluk occupation. To judge from the blazons, the red-body *graffiato* ware was evidently in use at both periods. It has also been found at other sites in this country which were occupied under the Ayyubids and Mamluks, such as Qala'at ar-Rabaḍ at 'Ajlūn in Trans-Jordan³ and at Tell el 'Ujūl near Gaza.⁴ In all probability it was of local manufacture, or from no further afield than Syria, Cyprus, or Egypt.⁵ The origin and range of the white body painted ware is less certain. So far it has not been encountered on other sites of the period in this country, and presumably it is not of local origin. It seems likely that it came from the north, from Asia Minor rather than Egypt. It is true that most of the subjects, the figures with pleated robes, lions, fish, birds, and arabesques, could be paralleled in Egypt, principally at Fustāt; but there is one which must be of Anatolian inspiration, the stag with antlers on Pl. L, 1, a species which does not occur south of the Taurus. That they are of Anatolian manufacture also, is suggested by a solitary example, 'probably from N.W. Asia Minor,'⁶ almost identical in drawing with our lion passant, Pl. L, 2. If so, they come from the western coast or the islands off Asia

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 24, Pl. XLIX.

² Similar examples from the bath-house in R-10 were illustrated in *QUARTERLY*, Vol. I, Pl. LIII, 2.

³ See *QUARTERLY*, Vol. I, pp. 21 ff. The pottery from the suburb is to be published shortly.

⁴ See E. Blochet, *Histoire d'Égypte de Makrizi*, trans. in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, tome IX (1902), p. 520. Sherds from Tell el 'Ujūl are in the Palestine Archaeological Museum.

⁵ Cf. R. L. Hobson, *British Museum Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East* (London, 1932), pp. 24 ff., and especially Figs. 37, Pl. XIII and 38, p. 30.

⁶ A. J. Butler, *Islamic Pottery* (London, 1926), Pl. XXXIX, A, from the Koechlin Collection.

Minor, to judge by the ship with its high stern and lateen sail, Pl. LI, 2. After all it was not a far cry from there to Palestine. Dishes of near eastern manufacture have often been found as far west as Italy, where they were commonly embedded in the walls of churches during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; for instance at Santa Cecilia, an early twelfth-century church at Pisa, there were dishes of Raqqa ware as well as one with the peacock, pointed cone motifs and plaited border of our Pl. LIII, 2.¹ Raqqa ware even reached Britain, possibly through followers of Edward I, who was in Palestine in 1271-2.² If near eastern pottery was so much prized by Crusaders of the thirteenth century, it may very well have been Crusaders who brought it from Asia Minor to Pilgrims' Castle, during their occupation.

Description of Pottery illustrated in Plates XLIX-LVII

Pl. XLIX, 1. Plate of buff pottery, coarse and sandy in texture, painted with a figure in pleated robes holding a palm branch in one hand and grasping at another (from the neck of a similar figure on another plate, not illustrated, there is something like a pigtail swinging out horizontally to the right). The figure and rim border are outlined in purple-black on a white ground, the figure is washed in with cobalt blue, the branches and border are streaked with brown; all under a colourless glaze.

Pl. XLIX, 2. Plate of similar buff pottery, painted with a fish outlined in black on a white ground and washed in with dull orange, surrounded with a herring-bone in light blue, and on the rim a herring-bone in black streaked with blue; all under a colourless glaze.

Pl. L, 1. Plate of similar buff pottery, painted with a stag outlined in black on a white ground and washed in with blue, the eyes in the field outlined in black and washed in with brown, the zig-zag border on the rim outlined in black and washed in with blue; all under a colourless glaze.

Pl. L, 2. Plate of similar buff pottery, painted with a lion outlined in black on a white ground and washed in with blue, the eyes in the field light brown; all under a colourless glaze.

Pl. LI, 1. Bowl of similar buff pottery, painted with a bird outlined in black on a white ground, the body washed in with blue, the wings with dull orange; all under a colourless glaze.

¹ In the Italian Majolica Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; see also Hobson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

² A single example has been found at Grosmont, Monmouthshire, a castle held by Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, who accompanied his brother, Edward I, on his crusade. B.H. St. J. O'Neil, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, LXXXVII (1932), pp. 193-4.

MEDIEVAL SLIP-WARE, 'ATLIT

Pl. LI, 2. Part of bowl of similar buff pottery, painted with a sailing boat outlined in black on a white ground, the hull washed in with pale blue, the sail brown; all under a colourless glaze.

Pl. LI, 3. Bowl of similar buff pottery, painted with a formal tree in black on a whitish ground; the fruit and band on lip of bowl dull red; spots of green in the field; all under a colourless glaze.

Pl. LII, 1. Bowl of reddish clay burning buff, painted with an arabesque design in black on a white ground, the chequered square washed with blue; all under a colourless glaze which has burnt brown on the outside of the body.

Pl. LII, 2. Bowl of buff pottery painted with blue criss-cross in base, black bands and loops on rim, burning brown where thin; all under a colourless glaze.

Pl. LIII, 1. Plate of light red pottery, porous and somewhat sandy, coated with a buff slip; painted with a fish in the base and twisted border on the rim, outlined in dark chocolate brown on a ground of drab white, and daubed with the same brown diluted and with copper green, the motifs above and below the fish also green; under a colourless glaze. (From the bath-house in R-10, see *Quarterly*, Vol. I, pp. 124 ff.)

Pl. LIII, 2. Plate of similar light-red pottery, coated with a buff slip; painted with a bird in the base, cone-shaped motifs above and below, and a plaited border on the rim, outlined in dark coffee brown on a buff ground and daubed with the same brown diluted and with copper green; under a colourless glaze.

Pl. LIV, 1. Plate of similar light-red pottery, coated with a white slip; arabesque design incised through the slip and splashed with caramel brown and copper green; under a hard glaze, firing sea-green on the slip, brownish green in the incisions.

Pl. LIV, 2. Partly restored bowl of hard gritty grey pottery, probably coated with a slip now entirely covered by glaze; arabesque design incised through the slip and splashed with caramel brown and copper green; under a hard crackled glaze firing pale sea-green on the slip, greenish grey in the incisions. Both the body and glaze resemble the imitation celadon found on the site.

Pl. LV, 1. Plate of light-red pottery, porous and slightly sandy, coated with a white slip on the inside; design incised through the slip; the field of the shield and the *ocelli* of the feathers under the lip, splashed with caramel brown, the border with brown and copper green; under a hard glaze firing cream on the slip, light brown in the incisions.

Pl. LV, 2. Plate of similar light-red pottery coated with a white slip on

C. N. JOHNS

the inside; design incised through the slip, the shield splashed with caramel brown, the rim border with brown and copper green; under a hard glaze firing sea-green on the slip, brownish green in the incisions.

Pl. LV, 3. Partly restored plate similar to Fig. 2 in ware and treatment.

Pl. LV, 4. Plate similar to Fig. 2 in ware and treatment.

Pl. LVI, 1. Bowl of hard red pottery, coated with a white slip; decoration incised through the slip; under a hard glaze firing green on the slip, dark green in the incisions.

Pl. LVI, 2. Base of similar bowl with incised decoration; under a hard glaze firing white on the slip, dark brown in the incisions.

Pl. LVI, 3. Base of similar bowl with incised decoration under a hard glaze firing light yellow on the slip, brown in the incisions.

Pl. LVI, 4. Plate of very hard red pottery, thinly coated with a white slip on the inside; incised decoration splashed with caramel brown and copper green; the glaze firing pale yellow on the slip, rusty brown in the incisions and on the body where the slip is thin or absent.

Pl. LVII, 1. Lamps: (*a*) buff pottery, possibly coated with slip of the same clay, glazed copper- or sea-green; (*b*) red pottery, coated with white slip, glazed sea-green; (*c*) red pottery, transparent glaze firing brown on the body; (*d*) buff pottery as (*a*), glazed sea-green.

Pl. LVII, 2. Bottle of red pottery, whorls of white slip, glaze firing brown on body, yellow on slip.

Pl. LVII, 3. Cooking pot of gritty drab ware, unglazed although pots like this usually have a transparent glaze firing brown on the body.

C. N. JOHNS.



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

MEDIEVAL SLIP-WARE FROM PILGRIMS' CASTLE, 'ATLIT, p. 142



FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3

MEDIEVAL SLIP-WARE FROM PILGRIMS' CASTLE, 'ATLIT, pp. 142-3



FIG. 1

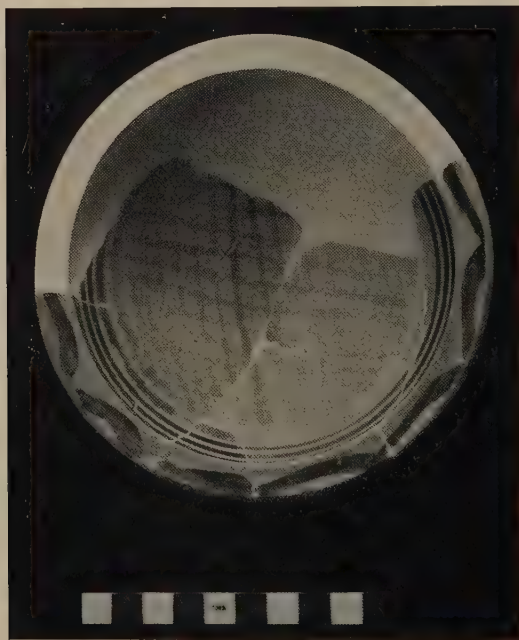


FIG. 2

MEDIEVAL SLIP-WARE FROM PILGRIMS' CASTLE, 'ATLIT, p. 143

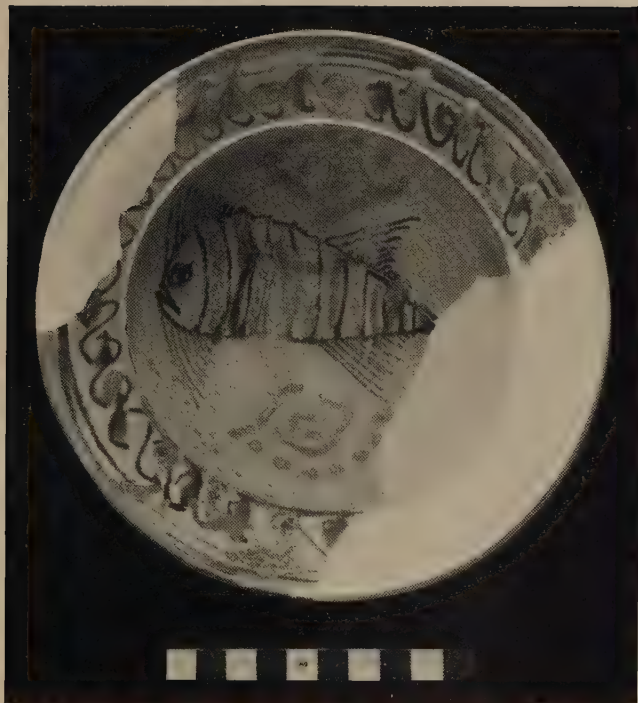


FIG. 1



FIG. 2

MEDIEVAL SLIP-WARE FROM PILGRIMS' CASTLE, 'ATLIT, p. 143



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

MEDIEVAL SLIP-WARE FROM PILGRIMS' CASTLE, 'ATLIT, p. 143



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

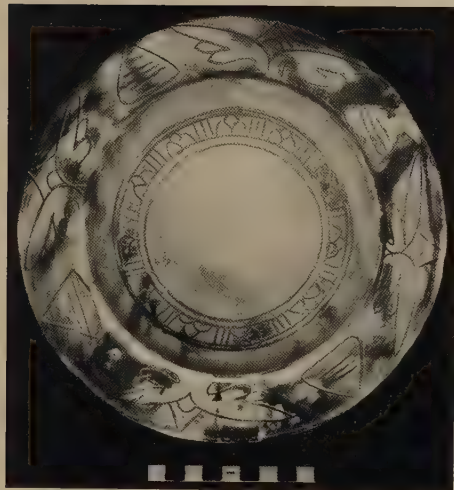


FIG. 3

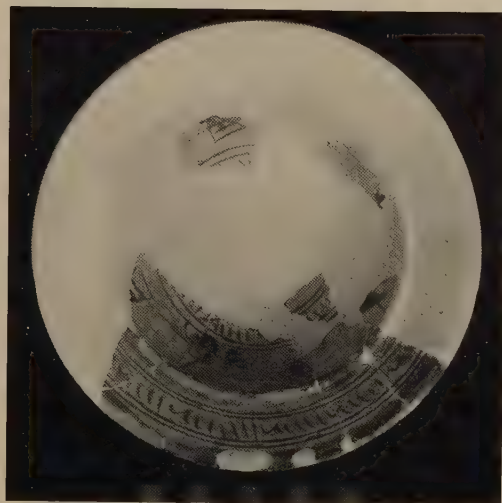


FIG. 4

MEDIEVAL SLIP-WARE FROM PILGRIMS' CASTLE, 'ATLIT, pp. 143-4

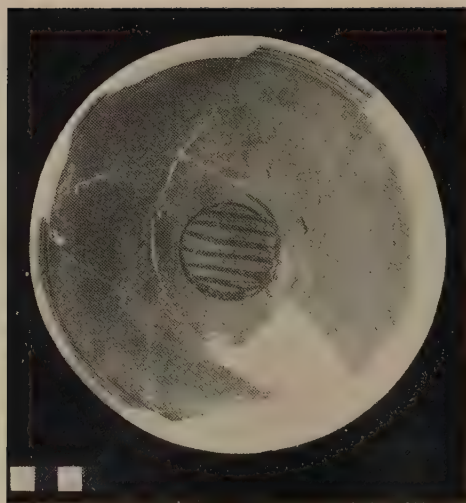


FIG. 1

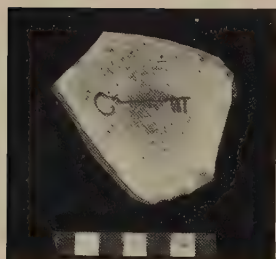


FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

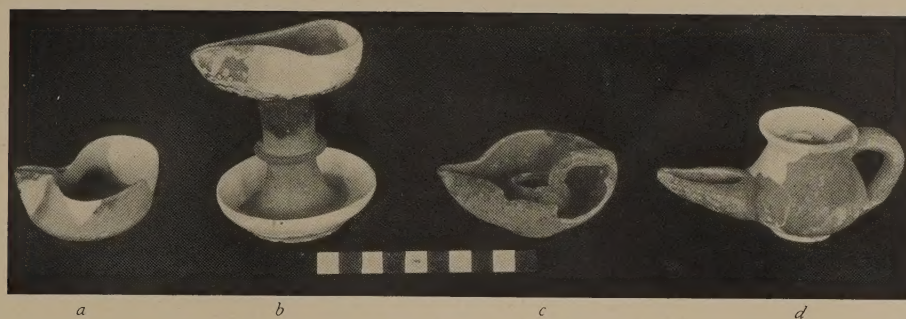


FIG. 1. LAMPS



FIG. 2. BOTTLE WITH HANDLE



FIG. 3. COOKING POT

FROM PILGRIMS' CASTLE, 'ATLIT, p. 144

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